

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: UNGA, PARM
SUBJECT: SSOD: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S SPEECH MAY 24.

1. TEXT OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S SPEECH AS DELIVERED
FOLLOWS BELOW. DEPT. PLEASE REPEAT AS DESIRED.

QUOTE I AM HONORED TODAY TO REPRESENT THE PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES AT THIS SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE GATHERED HERE TODAY TO
PURSUE THE MOST VITAL AND SOLEMN OBLIGATION OF
THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER -- "TO SAVE SUCCEEDING
GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR."

WE MEET TODAY AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE NONALIGNED
STATES. THESE NATIONS, COMPRISING THE BULK OF THE WORLD'S
PEOPLE, ARE PARTICULARLY AWARE OF THE HELPLESSNESS AND
HOPELESSNESS SPAWNED BY THE ARMS RACE. I SALUTE THEM
FOR CALLING US TOGETHER TO CONFRONT THIS CHALLENGE.

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AND WE APPLAUD, AS WELL, THE DEDICATION AND CONTRIBU-
TION OF THE MANY NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED
HERE. THE ARMS RACE TOUCHES THE LIVES OF EVERY MAN,
WOMAN AND CHILD IN THE WORLD. THE CONTROL OF ARMS IS
TOO CRUCIAL TO LEAVE TO A FEW GOVERNMENTS OR EVEN
ALL GOVERNMENTS ALONE. YOU ARE OUR CONSCIENCE AND
INSPIRATION.

MY BELOVED FRIEND, HUBERT HUMPHREY, WAS ONE OF THE
EARLIEST VOICES CALLING FOR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT.

HE SPOKE OF THE CHALLENGE WE FACE TODAY IN THESE WORDS:

"OURS IS A NEW ERA, ONE WHICH CALLS FOR A NEW KIND OF COURAGE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, ONE GENERATION LITERALLY HAS THE POWER TO DESTROY THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE; THE POWER TO BRING TIME TO AN END.

AND IF WE DO NOT CURB THE ARMS RACE, WE NOT ONLY THREATEN THE FUTURE, WE IMPOVERISH THE PRESENT.

WHILE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD CRY FOR FOOD AND SHELTER, FOR MEDICINE AND EDUCATION, THE VAST RESOURCES OF OUR PLANET ARE BEING DEVOTED MORE AND MORE TO THE MEANS OF DESTROYING, INSTEAD OF ENRICHING, HUMAN LIFE. THE GLOBAL COST OF ARMS HAS REACHED \$400 BILLION A YEAR, ALMOST \$1 MILLION A MINUTE FOR WEAPONS AND OVER 26 MILLION MEN AND WOMEN ARE IN MILITARY SERVICE AROUND THE WORLD.

NO WORLD LEADER, NO PARENT AND NO INDIVIDUAL ON THIS EARTH CAN LIVE SECURELY IN THE SHADOW OF THE GROWING WORLD ARSENAL. BUT IN THE FACE OF THAT MOUNTING DANGER, THIS CONFERENCE IS A SYMBOL OF HOPE.
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THIS SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY OFFERS HOPE OF GREATER PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT AND A WORLD IN WHICH THE THREAT OF WAR IS VASTLY DIMINISHED AND THE SECURITY OF EACH NATION MORE FULLY ENSURED.

THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE. LAST OCTOBER, PRESIDENT CARTER MADE A SPECIAL TRIP HERE TO EMPHASIZE AMERICA'S STRONG COMMITMENT TO ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. HE STRESSED OUR WILLINGNESS TO WORK TOWARD A WORLD TRULY FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE PLEDGED OUR TOTAL COMMITMENT TO REVERSING THE BUILDUP OF ARMAMENTS AND REDUCING THEIR TRADE.

SINCE THAT TIME, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN THE BROADEST SET OF ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN OUR HISTORY. TOGETHER WITH OUR NEGOTIATING PARTNERS, THE UNITED STATES HAS DEVELOPED AN AGENDA MORE EXTENSIVE THAN ANY NATION HAS EVER ATTEMPTED.

WE ARE TAKING CONCRETE ACTIONS IN TEN DIFFERENT AREAS -- FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS ACCORDS, TO REGIONAL RESTRAINT, TO LIMITS ON CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL ARMS SUCH AS ANTISATELLITE AND RADIO-LOGICAL WEAPONS.

BEFORE TOO LONG, THE UNITED STATES EXPECTS TO
TAKE PART IN TWO HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS:

-- FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE DAWN OF THE ATOMIC ERA,
WE WILL REACH AN AGREEMENT TO REDUCE THE COMBINED TOTAL
OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS DELIVERY VEHICLES OF THE

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SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES; AND

-- AFTER TWO DECADES OF NEGOTIATIONS, WE WILL PRODUCE
A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN CONTROLLING
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS BY THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED
KINGDOM AND THE SOVIET UNION.

THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW
WHAT IS BEING ACCOMPLISHED, TO CHART OUR COURSE FOR THE
YEARS AHEAD, AND TO REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO FURTHER
SUCCESS.

WE ARE HERE TO LISTEN TO THE VOICES OF OTHER NATIONS,
AS WELL AS TO RAISE OUR OWN IN BEHALF OF ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT. FOR THIS SESSION IS A PART OF A PROCESS IN
WHICH ALL OF US MUST WORK TOGETHER, IN A SPIRIT OF
OPENNESS AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

FOR AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY ONCE SAID:

"GENUINE PEACE MUST BE THE PRODUCT OF MANY NATIONS,
THE SUM OF MANY ACTS."

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TO AVOID A WORLD A DECADE HENCE IN WHICH THREE-QUARTERS
OF A TRILLION DOLLARS IS SPENT ON ARMS, IN WHICH

THERE ARE MORE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES, WE MUST HAVE A PROGRAM THAT IS VISIONARY IN CONCEPT AND REALISTIC IN ACTION.

REALISM REQUIRES THAT WE FACE SQUARELY THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF THE ARMS RACE -- THE CONCERN OF EACH NATION AND GOVERNMENT FOR THE SECURITY OF ITS PEOPLE. IF THE ARMS RACE WERE DRIVEN BY MADMEN, THERE WOULD BE NO HOPE. CONTROLS WOULD BE BEYOND THE REACH OF RATIONAL DISCOURSE. IRRATIONAL FORCES NO DOUBT PLAY A PART, BUT THE ARMS RACE IS DRIVEN BY OTHER CONSIDERATIONS AS WELL--TECHNOLOGY, INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERNS.

THE PRUDENT POLICY OF ANY NATION MUST INCLUDE BOTH SUFFICIENT MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS-- IF ITS SECURITY IS TO BE ASSURED. IN THE SHORT RUN, NO NATION CAN BE ASKED TO REDUCE ITS DEFENSES TO LEVELS BELOW THE THREATS IT FACES. BUT WITHOUT ARMS CONTROL AMONG NATIONS, IN THE LONG RUN WEAPON WILL BE PILED UP ON WEAPON WITH A LOSS OF SECURITY FOR ALL.

THIS MEETING AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE NATO SUMMIT NEXT WEEK IN WASHINGTON DRAMATIZE THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE EVERY POSSIBLE STEP TOWARD GREATER ARMS CONTROL WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ASSURING ESSENTIAL SECURITY NEEDS.

TODAY, OUR DEFENSE BUDGET IS NO LARGER IN REAL TERMS THAN IN THE LATE 1950'S AND IT IS LESS THAN IT WAS A DECADE AGO. BUT OTHER NATIONS HAVE INCREASED THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS IN REAL TERMS BY MORE THAN 1/3 OVER THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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SAME DECADE.

WE AND OUR NATO ALLIES ARE STRONG, AND WE WILL REMAIN STRONG TO PROVIDE FOR THE DEFENSE OF OUR PEOPLES. BUT WE FACE A CONTINUING BUILDUP OF UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS IN EUROPE. THE WARSAW PACT HAS DEVELOPED AN ALMOST 3-1 ADVANTAGE IN TANKS. THE SS-20 NUCLEAR MISSILE NOW BEING DEPLOYED AGAINST WESTERN EUROPE IS A NEW DEPARTURE IN DESTRUCTIVE POWER AND REPRESENTS A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN THE NUCLEAR THREAT OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE NATO SUMMIT MEETINGS NEXT WEEK IN WASHINGTON WILL RECOMMIT THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES TO A MILITARY POSTURE CAPABLE OF DETERRING AND DEFENDING AGAINST ATTACKS. WE WILL REMAIN PREPARED TO RESIST ATTACK ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF CONVENTIONAL, TACTICAL NUCLEAR, AND STRATEGIC FORCES. IN THE FACE OF THE CONTINUING BUILDUP OF THE WARSAW PACT FORCES, WE WILL MODERATELY INCREASE THE DEFENSE BUDGETS OF OUR NATIONS. BUT WE DO NOT DO SO FROM PREFERENCE, BUT FROM NECESSITY.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE NATO SUMMIT WILL REAFFIRM AND RE-EMPHASIZE THE COMMITMENT OF THE WEST TO THE OTHER DIMENSION OF OUR COMMON TREATY POLICY--THE PURSUIT OF ARMS CONTROL. WE WILL ADDRESS THE ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES THE WEST HAS RECENTLY TAKEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE. WE WILL OFFER OUR CONTINUED STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE SUCCESS OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION.

IN HIS DAY OF PEACE MESSAGE THIS JANUARY, HIS HOLINESS, POPE PAUL, SPOKE TO THE WORK OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION WHEN HE SAID:

"...THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD IS HORRIFIED BY THE

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HYPOTHESIS THAT OUR PEACE IS NOTHING BUT A TRUCE AND THAT AN UNCONTROLLABLE CONFLAGARATION CAN BE SUDDENLY UNLEASHED.

"WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO DISPEL THIS THREATENING AND TERRIBLE NIGHTMARE BY PROCLAIMING AT THE TOP OF OUR VOICE THE ABSURDITY OF MODERN WAR AND THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF PEACE--PEACE NOT FOUNDED ON THE POWER OF ARMS THAT TODAY ARE ENDOWED WITH AN INFERNAL DESTRUCTIVE CAPACITY...NOR FOUNDED ON THE STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE OF SOME POLITICAL REGIMES, BUT FOUNDED ON THE PATIENT, RATIONAL AND LOYAL METHOD OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM, SUCH AS THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF TODAY ARE PROMOTING AND DEFENDING."

TODAY, I WISH TO SPEAK TO THAT MESSAGE.

I WANT TO SET FORTH BOLD OBJECTIVES AND REALISTIC STEPS --A VISION THAT SHOULD GUIDE OUR ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS, AND THAT CAN HELP US DEVELOP THE CENTERPIECE OF OUR

WORK OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS--THE PROGRAM OF ACTION.

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FIRST, WE SHOULD SUBSTANTIALLY CUT THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS AND PLACE INCREASINGLY STRINGENT QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON THEIR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THAT IT BEARS, TOGETHER WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER NUCLEAR WEAPONS RESPONSIBILITY. THE SALT II AGREEMENT WHICH IS RAPIDLY TAKING SHAPE WILL:

--REDUCE THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES NOW IN EXISTENCE AND PUT A CEILING ON THE REMAINDER.

--IT WILL ESTABLISH SUBLIMITS ON THOSE SYSTEMS WHICH ARE MOST THREATENING AND DESTABILIZING.

--IT WILL IMPOSE RESTRAINTS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING WEAPONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND MORE SOPHISTICATED SYSTEMS.

EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE SALT II AGREEMENT MUST AND WILL BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE. NEITHER SIDE CAN BE PERMITTED TO EMERGE SUDDENLY SUPERIOR THROUGH UNDETECTED CHEATING, THUS UPSETTING THE STRATEGIC BALANCE UPON WHICH DETERRANCE OF NUCLEAR WAR DEPENDS.

SUCCESSFUL SALT NEGOTIATIONS WILL MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE. SALT II SERVES ALL NATIONS' INTERESTS, AND IT DESERVES UNIVERSAL SUPPORT.

BUT SALT II IS ONLY A STEP IN A VERY DIFFICULT LONG-TERM PROCESS. WE HOPE SOON TO BEGIN WHAT WE CALL SALT III. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED--AND I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THIS POINT--TO A FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION
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IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TO STILL STRICTER LIMITATIONS ON MODERNIZATION AND NEW TYPES OF DELIVERY VEHICLES.

A COMMITMENT BY OTHERS WILL BE REQUIRED IF SALT, AND OTHER NEGOTIATIONS, ARE TO SUCCEED.

YET, SOVIET THATER NUCLEAR ""CES HAVE INCREASED. THE MOST SIGNIIICANT DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE SS-20--A NEW,MOBILE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE. EACH ONE OF THESE MISSILES, WHICH MAY NUMBER IN THE HUNDREDS WHEN DEPLOYMENT IS COMPLETE, CARRIES THREE NUCLEAR WARHEADS, EACH WITH AN ESTIMATED YIELD OF 500

KILOTONS. THIS HIGH YIELD, COUPLED WITH THE WEAPON'S ACCURACY, HAS SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED THE SOVIETS' MILITARY CAPABILITY AGAINST BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TARGETS. BUT THE HIGH YIELD D&O MEANS THAT DAMAGE TO INNOCENT CIVILIANS WOULD BE EXTENSIVE, WITH EFFECTS EXTENDING 12 KILOMETERS FROM AN ELLSION. THE SS-20 MISSILE, WHILE NOT TARGETED AT THE UNITED STATES, IS CAPABLE OF STRIKING TARGETS NOT ONLY IN WESTERN EUROPE, BUT IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST. ITS DEPLOYMENT RUNS TOTALLY CONTRARY TO ALL THAT THIS SPECIAL SESSION SEEKS TO ACHIEVE. WHAT CAN JUSTIFY THIS ESCALATION IN NUCLEAR ARMS?

SECOND, ON OUR AGENDA, THERE SHOULD BE AN END TO THE EXPLOSION OF NUCLEAR DEVICES.

SOON AFTER HIS INAUGURATION, PRESIDENT CARTER ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO "PROCEED QUICKLY AND AGGRESSIVELY WITH A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY...ELIMINATING THE TESTING OF ALL NUCLEAR DEVICES, WHETHER FOR PEACEFUL OR MILITARY PURPOSES." AFTER THAT THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE SOVIET UNION ENTERED INTO TRI-LATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ACCOMPLISHING THIS HISTORIC OBJECTIVE. IF SUCCESSFUL, THIS WILL REPRESENT THE CULMI-

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NATION OF A PROCESS WHICH BEGAN IN THE LATE 1950'S. IT WILL BUILD ON THE INTERIM RESULTS OF THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963 AND THE US-USSR THRESHOLD TEST BAN AND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS TREATIES SIGNED IN 1974 AND 1976.

A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN WOULD MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO CURBING THE NUCLEAR COMPETITION BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. IT WOULD LESSEN INCENTIVES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY STATES WHICH DO NOT

NOW POSSESS THEM AND THUS RE-ENFORCE THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY.

TRILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDERWAY IN GENEVA. IMPORTANT PROGRESS TOWARDS AN ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN MADE. ONCE AGREEMENT IS REACHED, WE WILL MOVE VIGOROUSLY TO SEEK A MULTILATERAL COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY ACCEPTED BY ALL STATES. ALL NATIONS MUST BE PERSUADED TO FORESWEAR TESTING.

THE CONTINUED EXPLOSION OF NUCLEAR DEVICES HAS BEEN THE MAJOR SYMBOL OF MAN'S UNWILLINGNESS TO PUT ASIDE THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD'S MOST DEVASTATING UNCLASSIFIED

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WEAPONS. IT CAN, IT MUST, IT WILL BE STOPPED.

THIRD, AS WE LIMIT AND REDUCE THE WEAPONS OF EXISTING NUCLEAR STATES, WE MUST WORK IN CONCERT TO ENSURE THAT NO ADDITIONAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES EMERGE OVER THE NEXT DECADE AND BEYOND.

THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO AN EVER INCREASING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AND REGIONS IS A CHILLING PROSPECT. IT BRINGS EVER CLOSER THE PROBABILITY OF THEIR USE. SUCH PROLIFERATION WOULD SERIOUSLY HEIGHTEN REGIONAL AND GLOBAL TENSIONS. IT WOULD IMPEDE PEACEFUL COMMERCE IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. AND IT WOULD MAKE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT VASTLY MORE DIFFICULT.

THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS THE CONCERNS OF SOME NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES THAT THEY ARE BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST. TO HELP MEET THESE CONCERNS AND TO PREVENT THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS:

--I REPEAT TODAY THE SOLEMN DECLARATION WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER MADE FROM THIS PODIUM, IN WHICH HE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS EXCEPT IN SELF-DEFENSE...THAT IS, IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF AN ACTUAL NUCLEAR OR CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES, OUR TERRITORIES OR ARMED FORCES, OR SUCH AN ATTACK ON OUR ALLIES. AND I CALL ON OTHER NATIONS TO MAKE THIS SAME PLEDGE.

--THE PRESIDENT WILL PROPOSE NEW AND EXPANDED CONTRIBUTIONS BY THE UNITED STATES TO THE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS OF STATES WHICH SUPPORT NONPROLIFERATION.

--AS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SAID AS LONG AGO AS 1956, WE UNCLASSIFIED

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MUST ULTIMATELY WORK OUT, WITH OTHER NATIONS, SUITABLE,

VERIFIABLE, AND SAFEGUARDED ARRANGEMENTS SO THAT THE FUTURE PRODUCTION OF FISSIONABLE MATERIALS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD WOULD NO LONGER BE USED TO INCREASE THE STOCKPILES OF EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS.

--WE WILL PURSUE THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION, TO EXPLORE FURTHER HOW TO ENSURE THE BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY TO ALL WITHOUT ITS PROLIFERATION RISKS.

WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO INCREASE STILL FURTHER THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS SHOULD PRODUCE ENERGY FOR PEOPLE--AND NOT PLUTONIUM FOR BOMBS.

LET US LEARN FROM THE EXAMPLE SET BY LATIN AMERICA. LET US EXPAND THE REGIONS OF THE EARTH WHERE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL BE BANNED. AT THE INITIATIVE OF SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS, THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO WHICH BANS NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE AREA WAS SIGNED IN MEXICO CITY IN 1967. SINCE THEN, ALMOST ALL POTENTIAL PARTIES TO THE TREATY, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, HAVE SIGNED.

THE UNITED STATES CONGRATULATES THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS RECENT SIGNING OF PROTOCOL II OF THAT TREATY.

THERE IS NOW ONLY ONE COUNTRY IN THIS REGION WHICH HAS YET TO INDICATE ITS INTEREST IN SIGNING. AND THAT MUST BE REMEDIED NOW.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE TREATY WILL COME FULLY INTO FORCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, THEREBY CREATING THE FIRST MAJOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS-FREE ZONE IN THE WORLD. WE HOPE THAT LATIN AMERICA'S BOLD INITIATIVE WILL BE A MODEL FOR OTHER REGIONS TO FOLLOW.

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FOURTH, AS WE MOVE TO GAIN CONTROL OVER THE

NUCLEAR THREAT, WE MUST SEEK MUTUAL AGREEMENT TO BAN OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

THE HORROR OF SAS WARFARE DURING WORLD WAR I IS ETCHED IN THE MEMORY OF MANKIND. WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS BY PROHIBITING BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE MOVING CLOSER TO AN AGREEMENT ON BANNING RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, WHICH WE WOULD THEN PUT BEFORE THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. OUR DISCUSSIONS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARE PROVING MORE DIFFICULT. ANY AGREEMENT ON CHEMICAL OR NEW AND EXOTIC WEAPONS MUST BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO FINDING A SOLUTION, ASSUMING THERE IS A FAIR-MINDED APPROACH ON THE OTHER SIDE.

FIFTH, WE MUST IMMEDIATELY SLOW DOWN AND THEN REVERSE THE SHARP SROWTH IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

THE VAST BULK OF THE \$4000 BILLION SRENT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES II 1976 WAS SPEET ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

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WE RECOGNIZE THE LESITIMATE CONCERN OF NATIONS THAT THEY YOT BE DENIED ARBITRARILY ACCESS TO ARMS SEEDED FOR THEIR LEGITIMATE DEFENSE. SUCH NEEDS MUST AND WILL BE MET: AT THE SAME TIME, OUR COMMON INTERESTS DEMAMD A VAST REDUCTION IN THE FLOW OF COVENTIONAL ARMS.

FRESH THOUGHT IS REQUIRED TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THIS NEGLECTED, BUT INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT DIMENSION OF ARMS CONTROL. BUT WE CAN AND WE MUST TAKE ACTION NOW. FUELING THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE IS THE RAPIDLY EXPANDING INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN THESE ARMS. THE VALUE OF ARMS IMPORTS BY THE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAS INCREASED BY 75 PERCENT OVER THE LAST DECADE. A LIMITED, BUT GROWING, NUMBER OF SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS ACCOUNTS FOR MOST OF THIS TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR TRADE.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE BEGUN TO REDUCE THE VOLUME OF ITS ARMS SALES. UNDER PRESIDENT CARTER'S CONVENTIONAL ARMS POLICY:

--WE HAVE PLACED A CEILING--A REDUCTION OF 8 IN FISCAL YEAR 1978--ON WEAPONS AND WEAPONS-RELATED ITEMS TO COUNTRIES OTHER THAN NATO, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND JAPAN.

--THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE THE FIRST TO INTRODUCE INTO A REGION A NEWLY DEVELOPED ADVANCED WEAPONS SYSTEM WHICH WOULD CREATE A NEW OR SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER COMBAT CAPABILITY.

--WE WILL NOT SELL ANY SUCH WEAPONS SYSTEMS UNTIL THEY
ARE OPERATIONALLY DEPLOYED WITH US FORCES.

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--WE WILL NOT PERMIT DEVELOPMENT OR MODIFICATION OF ADVANC-
ED SYSTEMS SOLELY FOR EXPORT.

--WE HAVE PLACED STRICT CONTROLS ON CO-PRODUCTION AND RE-
TRANSFERS.

RECOGNIZING THAT THIS PROBLEM REQUIRES ACTION BY ALL
SUPPLIERS, WE HAVE INITIATED DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER MAJOR
SUPPLIERS AND CONSUMERS. THE RESULTS SO FAR HAVE BEEN
MODEST. MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE. IT WILL BE INCREAS-
INGLY DIFFICULT FOR US TO SUSTAIN OUR POLICY UNILATERALLY
UNLESS THERE IS A MORE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD A MEANINGFUL
MULTILATERAL EFFORT AT RESTRAINT.

SIXTH, REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS AND CAPABILI-
TIES SHOULD BE EXPANDED AND STRENGTHENED.

REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL IS AT A VERY PRIMITIVE STAGE.

FEW NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDERWAY. ONLY A FEW NATIONS HAVE
THE TECHNICAL COMPETENCE REQUIRED TO VERIFY AGREEMENTS.
MANY OF THE TECHNIQUES, LIKE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES
WHICH INCREASE PREDICTABILITY AND LESSEN THE FEAR
OF SUDDEN ATTACK, ARE LARGELY UNTRIED.

FOR OUR PART, IN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES AND OUR
ALLIES HAVE RECENTLY TAKEN AN INITIATIVE TO GET THE FIVE-
YEAR OLD MBFR TALKS MOVING. AND WE ARE CONSIDERING ADDI-
TIONAL MEASURES TO INCREASE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN
CENTRAL EUROPE. IN STILL ANOTHER REGION, WHILE WE HAVE
PROPOSED AND COMMENCED TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON
ARMS LIMITATIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, INCREASES IN
THE SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE THERE HAVE HAMPERED THOSE
TALKS.

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CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
INRE-00 DOEE-00 NRC-07 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 MCE-00
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1560

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BEYOND OUR OWN NEGOTIATIONS, THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE TO STIMULATE REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS BY OFFERING OTHERS ASSISTANCE WITH VERIFICATION AND STABILIZING MEASURES.

--OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WITH MONITORING SYSTEMS SUCH AS AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY AND GROUND DETECTION DEVICES CAN HELP CREATE THE CONFIDENCE NECESSARY TO MAKE DISENGAGEMENT AND STABILIZING AGREEMENTS WORK.

--BUILDING ON THAT EXPERIENCE, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER JOINT REQUESTS FOR THESE SO-CALLED "EYES AND EARS OF PEACE" FROM COUNTRIES THAT WANT SUCH MONITORING SERVICES. SUCH REQUESTS SHOULD COME PREFERABLY VIA REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR THE UNITED NATIONS.

--THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE SPECIALISTS WHO CAN HELP OTHER NATIONS FIND WAYS TO USE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING AND STABILIZING MEASURES, INCLUDING NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, INVITATION OF OBSERVERS TO MANEUVERS, AND UN MACHINERY TO PROMOTE SUCH MEASURES.

SEVENTH, WE SHOULD FULLY DEVELOP THE INSTITUTIONS AND UNCLASSIFIED

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EXPERTISE REQUIRED FOR ARMS CONTROL.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN UN ARMS CONTROL INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT UNDERCUTTING THOSE INSTITUTIONS THAT WE HAVE DEVELOPED. WHILE WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER CHANGES IN THE CCD, OUR MAJOR CONCERN IS TO ENSURE THE CONTINUED, PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY OF A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING BODY OPERATING BY CONSENSUS.

THE PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE-MAKING CAPABILITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE OAS AND THE OAU SHOULD BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ARMS REDUCTION EFFORTS. THE ROLE OF SUCH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IS CRITICAL TO MINIMIZE INTRUSION BY OUTSIDERS. WE ENCOURAGE A STRONG AND PROMINENT ROLE FOR THESE ORGANIZATIONS.

THE UNITED NATIONS PLAYS AN ESSENTIAL ROLE. AT THIS MOMENT UN FORCES IN LEBANON, CYPRUS, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND SINAI ARE MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO MOVE TOWARD LASTING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS.

TO MAKE THESE UN EFFORTS EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE, WE PROPOSE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN PEACEKEEPING RESERVE FORCE. SUCH A FORCE WOULD COMPRISE NATIONAL CONTINGENTS TRAINED IN UN PEACEKEEPING METHODS AND EARMARKED BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS FOR UN DUTY. THIS PEACEKEEPING RESERVE WOULD BE DRAWN UPON BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL WHENEVER THE SECURITY COUNCIL DECIDED TO ESTABLISH A UN FORCE TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

THERE IS ALSO A CRITICAL NATIONAL DIMENSION. EVERY GOVERNMENT MUST STRENGTHEN THE INSTITUTIONS AND
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EXPERTISE NEEDED FOR ARMS CONTROL. LET EACH OF US RESOLVE AT THIS SESSION THAT OUR NATIONS WILL EXAMINE THE PRIORITY WHICH WE NOW GIVE DISARMAMENT, IN ORGANIZATION, IN BUDGETS, AND IN PERSONNEL.

EIGHTH, PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS SHOULD RELEASE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

COLLECTIVELY, WE HAVE THE CAPACITY TO ELIMINATE THE WORST VESTIGES OF POVERTY FROM THE WORLD BY THE END OF THE CENTURY. THE TREMENDOUS EXPENDITURE OF RESOURCES DEVOTED TO BUILDING MILITARY STRENGTH STANDS IN THE PATH OF DEVELOPMENT TODAY. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' SHARE OF WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES HAS GROWN FROM 15 PERCENT TO 23 PERCENT IN THE LAST DECADE. THE DEVELOPING NATIONS ARE NOW SPENDING A GREATER PORTION OF THEIR GNP FOR MILITARY PURPOSES THAN ARE THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

JUST ONE PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S ANNUAL MILITARY BUDGET WOULD BE ENOUGH TO PROVIDE FOOD AND A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT TO 200 MILLION MALNOURISHED CHILDREN TODAY. LET US, THROUGH THE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE, BEGIN TO TURN THE WORLD'S RESOURCES FROM EVER-GROWING STOCK-PILES OF DESTRUCTION TO EVER-GROWING OPPORTUNITIES FOR LIFE.

ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS CAN HELP FREE THE ECONOMIES

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14 CIAE-00

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NASA-02 NEA-11 NSAE-00 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-02 DOE-15

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OF INDUSTRIAL AS WELL AS DEVELOPING NATIONS TO SOLVE
PRESSING SOCIAL PROBLEMS. WE REALIZE THE VAST POTENTIAL
OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NO
MORE FERVENT WISH THAN TO TURN MORE OF THAT POTENTIAL
FROM THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS TO THE FULFILLMENT OF
HUMAN NEEDS.

AS NATIONS CONCLUDE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS AND SHOW
RESTRAINT IN ARMS EXPENDITURES, THE UNITED STATES
FAVORS REALLOCATING FUNDS TO DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHICH
PREVIOUSLY WERE EARMARKED FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

OUR ABILITY TO REDIRECT FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT HINGES
ON THE WILLINGNESS OF OTHER NATIONS TO LIMIT THEIR
CURRENT ARMING OF DEVELOPING NATIONS. IF THE UNITED
NATIONS IS TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE PROBLEMS OF
DEVELOPMENT, WE CANNOT HAVE COUNTRIES POURING ARMS INTO
THE DEVELOPING WORLD WHILE AT THE SAME TIME DEVOTING
MINIMAL FUNDING TO DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE. WE CANNOT
HAVE NATIONS USING THEIR MILITARY POWER TO EXPLOIT
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONS AND TO EXACERBATE SERIOUS
CONFLICTS.

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MY COUNTRY FOR YEARS SOUGHT TO LIMIT MILITARY
SHIPMENTS TO AFRICA. OUR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE
FAR OUTSTRIPS THE AMOUNT OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE WE HAVE
PROVIDED. LAST YEAR THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTED
\$327 MILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN NATIONS,
COMPARED TO ONLY \$59 MILLION IN MILITARY AID. THIS
RECORD, WITH ITS SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON FUNDING FOR FOOD,
STANDS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE PREDOMINANT MILITARY
ASSISTANCE EXTENDED BY OTHERS. OUR ORIENTATION REPRESENTS, I BELIEVE, A FAR BETTER CONTRIBUTION TO THE LONG-
TERM FUTURE OF THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA. THE CHOICE HERE
IS ONE OF ENCOURAGING THE CONSTRUCTIVE AND CREATIVE

CAPABILITIES OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD, OR OF ENCOURAGING THOSE TENDENCIES WHICH GENERATE CONFLICT. LET US PLACE OUR HOPES IN DEVELOPMENT.

OUR RECOGNITION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT SHOULD INFORM AND GIVE URGENCY TO ALL OUR ARMS CONTROL OBJECTIVES.

IN ADDITION:

-- WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE UN STUDY OF DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT. THIS STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE CONSIDERATION OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH MAY RESULT FROM DISARMAMENT.

-- WE FAVOR EFFORTS TO REDUCE MILITARY EXPENDITURES, AND WE HAVE VOLUNTEERED TO PROVIDE OUR OWN, ACCURATE INFORMATION ON NATIONAL MILITARY EXPENDITURES TO A UN PILOT PROGRAM TESTING A METHOD TO MEASURE SUCH EXPENDITURES.

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-- WE ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO BE EQUALLY OPEN. GREATER OPENNESS ABOUT MILITARY EXPENDITURES IS A NECESSARY COMPANION TO ARMS RESTRAINT. OVER TIME, OPENNESS CAN GRADUALLY REPLACE FEAR WITH TRUST, PROMOTE CONFIDENCE, ENCOURAGE SELF-RESTRAINT AND ELIMINATE NEEDLESS SOURCES OF CONFLICT.

THIRTY-THREE YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT TRUMAN ADDRESSED THE FIRST SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AT THEIR MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO, WITH THESE WORDS:

QUOTE. BY YOUR LABORS AT THIS CONFERENCE WE SHALL KNOW IF SUFFERING HUMANITY IS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. UNQUOTE.

THAT IS OUR CHALLENGE AT THIS SPECIAL SESSION. THE WORLD WATCHES WHAT WE DO HERE, AND MANKIND'S DEEPEST HOPES ARE WITH US TODAY. THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF OUR EFFORTS WILL DETERMINE, MORE THAN ANY OTHER ENDEAVOR, THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD OUR CHILDREN WILL INHERIT, OR WHETHER THEY WILL INHERIT A HABITABLE WORLD AT ALL. AND IT IS THEIR INTERESTS WHICH UNITE US TODAY.

NO MATTER WHAT NATION WE ARE FROM, NO MATTER WHAT OUR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, OUR CHILDREN ARE 100 PERCENT OF OUR FUTURE. WE OWE THEM 100 PERCENT OF OUR EFFORTS TO HALT THE ARMS RACE TODAY.

ARMS CONTROL MUST NOT BE THE AGENDA ONLY OF THIS

SESSION OR OF THIS YEAR ALONE. IT MUST BE THE MORAL
AGENDA OF OUR TIME. OUR WORK MUST BE KEPT IN FULL VIEW
OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. WE NEED THE PRESSURE OF WORLD
OPINION TO GIVE URGENCY TO OUR TASK. AND THAT IS WHY

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14 CIAE-00
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THE UNITED STATES CALLS ON THIS CONFERENCE TO FOLLOW UP
ON OUR EFFORTS WITH ANOTHER SPECIAL SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1981. LET OUR NEXT MEETING MONITOR
THE PROGRESS THAT WE HAVE MADE. AND LET IT PRESS UPON
US THE AGENDA OF ISSUES WHICH WE MUST STILL RESOLVE.

THE CHALLENGE OF CONTROLLING THE ARMS RACE IS INDEED
AWESOME. BUT EMERSON ONCE SAID WE MEASURE A MAN'S
WISDOM BY HIS HOPE. LET US PROCEED WITH HOPE TODAY.
I AM CONFIDENT THAT IF EACH OF OUR NATIONS CAN LOOK
BEYOND ITS OWN AMBITIONS; IF, IN THE WORK OF THIS
CONFERENCE, WE CAN BRIDGE THE DISTANCES OF GEOGRAPHY,
OF HISTORY AND FEAR; AND IF ALL OF US CAN BRING TO OUR
EFFORTS THE DEEPEST YEARNINGS OF THE PEOPLES WE REPRESENT,
THEN WE SHALL SERVE ALL THE WORLD'S CHILDREN
WITH OUR LABORS AND, IN THE WORDS OF ISAIAH, QUOTE
THE WORK OF RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL BE PEACE. UNQUOTE.

THANK YOU.

UNQUOTE.

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PARM, PGOV, PORG, US, UNGA, UNSSOD, (MONDALE, WALTER F)
To: STATE
Type: TE
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